DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 043 576 SP 004 205

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TITLE Teacher Supply and Demand Problems in a Developing Society: Peru.
INSTITUTION Pittsburgh Univ., Pa. School of Education.
PUB DATE Jul 70
NOTE 38p.

EDRS PRICE EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$2.00
DESCRIPTORS Educational Economics, *Educational History, *Educational Programs, Inservice Teacher Education, Political Influences, Student Motivation, *Teacher Education, *Teacher Education Curriculum, Teacher Salaries, Teachers Colleges
IDENTIFIERS *Peru, Teachers College (Columbia University), UNESCO

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the organization, major functions, and general characteristics of Peruvian teacher education programs, as well as some recent attempts to effect qualitative changes in these and in teacher inservice education programs, which point the way to a more rational and modern normal-school system. The first normal schools, established in the 1820's, continued the social divisions of the colonial period, and true public education did not develop until after 1850. Teachers were prepared in convents and religious institutions until the government took control of education in the 1930's. The urban and rural poor received little or no education until after 1950. The existing teacher education programs are uneven in quality, conservative, and concerned with the transmittal of a fixed body of knowledge. Many of the students in the 152 schools are motivated by a desire for status and titles rather than a desire to teach. Current reform programs seek to change the normal school curriculum from 3 to 4 years, to use a new process for the systematic, objective evaluation of student performance, to assign semester units of credit to all courses, and to close marginal, substandard institutions. Teams from UNESCO and Teachers College, Columbia University, are helping to implement these reforms. Difficulties have also arisen in finding the money to provide higher salaries promised under salary legislation (the 15215 law). (MBM)

ED043576

TEACHER SUPPLY AND DEMAND PROBLEMS IN A DEVELOPING SOCIETY: PERU

by

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International and Development Education Program

School of Education

University of Pittsburgh

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15213

July 1970

SP004205

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> Our normal schools require a thorough renovation. Many of them strongly resemble medieval monasterias and convents, while others rigidly adhere to the French model imported by Isidoro Poiry, who founded the first Peruvian normal school in 1905. These schools with their academic, theoretical, and humanistic emphasis are not sensitive to the needs of our time. Peruvian normal schools are all too frequently archaic institutions reflecting the spirit of centuries past, incongruent spirits hopelessly out of rhythm with modern civilization.[1]

As in many other developing countries, the rapid and largely uncontrolled expansion of public schooling in Peru has created a number of critical problems in the areas of teacher preparation and teacher professionalization. Quite understandably, any nation that seeks to quickly change from highly selective schooling for a small elite to universal education for all children will experience many vexing problems, especially when such a shift is not preceeded by far-reaching curricular and social reforms. The supply of teachers, for example, will need to be quickly expanded to meet growing demand arising from political pressures for universal education. Great numbers of teachers will be needed for rural and frequently isolated schools and properly motivated either with material or moral rewards to stay and to teach. Older teachers will need to be upgraded in their skills and knowledge and encouraged to become more innovative and professional in the classrooms as well as in their dealings with their employers and with the communities in which they work. In all, the quantitative and qualitative problems involved in providing well-prepared teachers in adequate numbers to staff

rapidly expanding school systems in developing countries are staggering. Philip Coombs has not overstated the seriousness of this problem in his observation that the need to supply, upgrade, and pay teachers lies at the very heart of the world educational crisis.[2]

During the current world-wide educational explosion's first phase in the 1950's and early 1960's, quantitative problems took precedence. Governments, frequently with considerable foreign technical and financial assistance, greatly expanded teacher-training facilities to meet increased demand, largely at the primary level. During the past several years, however, a number of factors have led to a growing concern for qualitative improvement, a concern that will undoubtedly intensify as nations become increasingly aware of their financial limitations and the need to make formal schooling more relevant to the process of national development. This marked shift of emphasis from quantitative to qualitative considerations has been the case in a number of developing countries and is clearly evident in Peru. Efforts to meet a steadily rising demand for teachers have been more than successful, and the country is currently experiencing a number of difficult attempts to reduce teacher overproduction especially at the primary level. Shortages of qualified teachers in many rural areas of the sierra and selva, however, continue to exist.

It now appears fairly evident that the overproduction of school teachers experienced by Peru may very likely become increasingly frequent in other developing countries, especially in Latin America, in the decade to come. Several reasons might be offered to support this possibility. For one,

investment in education has now generally reached its approximate upper limit and pressures are mounting to improve and rationalize existing formal-school systems without further financial outlays. The demand for normal-school entry, however, continues to rise as increased numbers of primary- and secondary-school graduates from expanded public-school systems seek opportunity for more education. As higher education in universities is relatively inaccessible and normal schools all too frequently offer one of the few possibilities for further education at state expense, demand for normal schooling is usually intense. This is not to say that the demand to teach is great. More frequently, expanding teacher-education programs reflect the desires of students for upward social mobility, for a sinecure in the teaching bureaucracy, for a title. The status-giving function of teacher-preparation programs is, of course, more or less ubiquitous. It is extreme, however, in Peru where becoming a teacher is also a means of rapid upward cultural and social mobility.

Yet, despite these and other problems, Peru is in the vanguard of Latin American teacher education, as may be seen in a UNESCO report comparing achievements and standards in 13 Latin American countries.[3] Peru, for example, is one of four countries that place all teacher-education programs at the third, or post-secondary study for official certification. Concomitantly, Peru's teacher-education students typically begin their studies at about 17 years of age (the maximum permissable age is 25), as contrasted to an average entry age of 14 to 15 in most Latin American countries where teenage teachers are all too common.

Also, Peru is one of four countries that have distinct national divisions concerned with teacher education, with attendant technical aid, and with supervision and related services. With respect to curriculum, Peru is one of the few countries that has achieved a desirable (by U. S. standards) balance between studies in general, or liberal education, in professional education, and in areas of teaching specialization. The respective percentages here are approximately 50 percent, 25 percent, and 25 percent. Peru alone has a core curriculum of general education common to both the primary and secondary teachers in training with later specialization in teaching level and area. And finally, Peru is one of the five countries that emphasize in official evaluation procedures, at least in theory, the participation of students in class, group, and individual projects.

Although Peru may compare favorably with her neighbors, teacher-education programs are, with a few notable exceptions, deficient and beset by serious problems that might be generally summarized as follows:

1. Normal-school professors are poorly prepared. They are usually graduates of other normal schools and less frequently of universities. They may be experienced teachers, but as there is no requirement for post-graduate studies, their preparation is frequently outmoded and obsolete.
2. Instruction is largely based on memory and lecture methods with little interaction between students and professors. Only rarely is provision made for activities or for individual or group work.

3. The facilities necessary for instruction, the libraries, laboratories, equipment, and instructional materials are markedly scarce and inadequate. The low quality of facilities has, moreover, threatened to decline even further with the uncontrolled creation by Congress of new normal schools.

In sum, Peru shares most of the major problems of teacher education and modernization found in Latin America and in the third world.[4] It is not so much in the nature of these difficulties, however, but in the response of Peruvian government officials, educators, and others to teacher-education problems that we can best see what is most characteristically Peruvian.

With this objective in mind, this paper will examine the organization, major functions, and general characteristics of Peruvian teacher-education programs as well as some recent attempts to affect qualitative changes in these and teacher in-service education programs. Although these reform efforts fall considerably short of the "thorough renovation" called for by Professor Foley Gambetta quoted at the outset, they do, nevertheless, point the way to a more rational and modern normal-school system.

Teacher-Preparation Programs

The historical origins of Peruvian normal schools date back to the War of Independence from Spain. Under the influence of the Enlightenment with its idealistic concern for universal schooling, a number of foreigners attempted to found normal schools in Peru as a means of supplying teachers for proposed public schools. It should be remembered that in Colonial Spain the Church provided all formal education in what was essentially a dual

system that offered professional and humanistic education for youth of the small European elite and occasional religious and civic instruction for the Indian masses. As a result of this arrangement, with liberation from Spain, the vast majority of Peruvians were totally unschooled, illiterate, and ill-prepared for independence.

With the hope of creating a system of public instruction to form a more enlightened population, the Argentine General San Martín, even before the Revolution had been won, ordered the creation in Lima of the first Latin American normal school. Under the direction of an English schoolteacher, a Mr. Diego Thompson, classes were begun using the Lancaster method. This enterprise sought to prepare preceptors and able students as teachers for a system of Lancasterian schools in Lima and provincial capitals. Simon Bolivar, a Venezuelan, attempted a similar development several years later in 1825. His plan called for each provincial capital to support a normal school where teachers could be prepared in the Lancasterian method. These, in turn, were then supposed to found public schools in all the larger cities of the country.

With the Creoles merely replacing the ousted Spaniards, however, social division in Peru remained far too vast to permit the growth of public education, and both attempts at creating normal schools, let alone a public-school system, failed totally. The Creoles continued the colonial system of private study and tutoring at home followed by university study in Peru or Europe. Moreover, what little education had been offered to the Indian masses by the Church largely ended with independence and the beginning of the Republican period. Public education in Peru only became possible in

the later 19th Century with the rise of the mestizo middle groups. Following the educational reforms of General Ramón Castilla, a mestizo, in the 1850's and the contributions of Manuel Prado in the 1870's, an urban educational system largely attended by mestizo children grew into being as a new class-linked school type.

Teachers in the new public primary schools, almost exclusively women, were mostly prepared in convents and religious institutions. The Convent of San Pedro in Lima, for example, created as the first normal school for women, began a teacher-preparation program in 1876. It was not until the 1930's, however, that the national government took full control of normal-school organization, curriculum, and instruction, as well as the certification of teachers and their organization into professional categories. Moreover, it was not until 1941 that the technical and administrative functions of teacher preparation were centralized in the Ministry of Public Education Division of Educación Normal. The late date of this administrative change indicates the relatively recent emergence of mass public education with its corresponding demand for a well-organized and efficient system of teacher preparation. Before the 1940's, there existed only little demand for public-school teachers. Highly restricted social and geographical mobility meant that Peru's three major social and cultural groups, i.e., the blancos, the mestizos, and the vast majority of Indians, remained relatively stable. Private-school teachers, mostly representing Catholic orders, frequently from abroad, taught children of the blanco upper class. Public-school teachers taught children from mestizo families of the middle social sector. The urban and rural poor who, for the most part, represented

the cholo and Indian lower and marginal social groups remained almost entirely without schools except for isolated missionary efforts, most often carried out by North American or European religious organizations.

World War II and the changes that it helped to set in motion have, however, brought about dramatic shifts in Peruvian social organization and structural alterations that have touched nearly every facet of national life. Perhaps most important of these changes have been the waves of internal migration and the creation of a large cholo group comprising nearly one-third of the total population. Although migration has been both rural-urban, urban-rural, and from the Sierra to the East, by far the greatest numbers of migrants have moved from rural areas of the Sierra to Sierran towns and then to shantytowns, or pueblos jovenes, surrounding Lima and other large coastal cities. Fleeing desperate poverty and lack of opportunity in the Sierra, cholo, or partly assimilated Indians, migrants--mostly youths--have moved to urban areas seeking employment, education, and the possibility of leaving their Indianness behind. If cultural mobility from the Indian subordinate culture to the mestizo-criollo national super-ordinate culture is not possible for themselves, then it will surely be possible for their children if they attend public schools, learn Spanish, and totally accept the values of the urban mestizo-criollo national culture. The dramatic growth of public schooling since 1950 can, in fact, largely be explained in terms of demographic change ensuing from the desire for enhanced social and cultural mobility on the part of a large Indian segment of the Peruvian population previously excluded from schooling due to lack of facilities, subjugation, fear, and isolation.

Although teacher-preparation programs only became firmly centralized under Ministry control during the 1940's, they had by that time already taken on a number of distinctive characteristics that by and large continue to this day. We might, for instance, note a number of these characteristics and then examine how and why teacher-preparation programs have largely failed to adapt to pressures for growth and change.

Perhaps the most unfortunate yet enduring characteristic of Peruvian teacher-education programs is their uneveness in quality and irrelevance to needs to prepare qualified, dedicated classroom teachers. The continuation of this situation has put teacher education at the very heart of Peru's educational crisis. Other serious problems include an overloaded, encyclopedic curriculum that attempts to give students a smattering of general knowledge in all areas with the result that most graduates are grossly ill-prepared, know little, and tend to perpetuate the cycle of lecturing about obsolete or irrelevant facts. The authoritativeness of the system, the rigidity of the curriculum, the all-pervasive air of revealed knowledge and conservatism moreover do not provide settings encouraging creativity, intellectual speculation, and individual growth. In addition, the general lack of books, libraries, teaching materials, and laboratory equipment has also been a serious constraint on the quality of normal-school instruction. A Ministry of Education curriculm commission has recommended numerous texts for teacher-education but has been unable to provide funds for their purchase. Until 1964, each normal school did receive an annual book budget of approximately $5,000, but with the strain

of rapid expansion and with teacher salaries comprising over 90 percent of normal-school budgets, this allotment has not been maintained.

Lack of instructional materials and libraries, as well as textbooks, also tended to perpetuate the lecture system common at all levels of the Peruvian school system. Most commonly, teachers with unquestioned authority will dictate from aged and yellow notes at a speed slow enough to enable students to copy in longhand. Students then commonly memorize their notes in order to pass the final course examination. Then following graduation and posting, new teachers continue the cycle by reading their notes to their students. This closed, stifling method places few demands on the students and fewer still on the lecturer. It serves well enough to pass along a fixed body of knowledge and "classical" culture from generation to generation but it is ill-suited in the extreme for a world of rapidly changing knowledge. Peruvian science teachers, for example, teach facts not process. Problem-solving has, it would seem, little place in the conservative world of Peruvian teacher preparation.

In contrast, there is a growing recognition in the Ministry that normal-school instruction might be much improved with the provision of expanded library facilities. A number of better urban institutions now do have libraries, and Peace Corps Volunteers occasionally have been able to begin libraries in both urban and rural normal schools. The obstacles to creating and expanding library holdings, however, are formidable. As noted, money is available only for salaries and not for books. In addition, the proverbial lack of trust means that where libraries do exist, they are so closely guarded that their utility is much circumscribed. A visiting foreign librarian has made the following observations in this limitation:

> As a model normal school, La Cantuta, which is practically the creation of SECPANE, exhibits several very interesting [library] features. The reading room was securely locked and contained not a single book. Books were available only in the stack section, to which the students were not admitted. The catalog for the library is very curiously arranged. Author cards are filed under the broad headings of the Dewey Decimal Classification, so that a student must know the subject of a book in order to discover whether the library has it; and should he misinterpret the subject, it is very likely that he would never be able to determine whether or not the library had a copy. The reference room of the library which contains encyclopedias has been closed since the reference librarian resigned, some years previously.
>
> The librarian was of the opinion that even teachers in the normal school could not be trusted in an open-stack library, and that...most of the books would be lost if the students were given direct access to them.....[5]

Another readily apparent characteristic of teacher-preparation programs is their hierarchical, institutional stratification. At the apex of the pyramid are the faculties of education in the public and private universities. These programs by and large prepare post-primary teachers who find employment in the larger and most prestigous private and public urban, normal, and high schools. At a somewhat lower level are the large public normal schools that have been able to obtain semi-autonomous, near-university status. Students in these institutions are somewhat evenly divided between primary- and secondary-school preparation programs. These are the national normal schools that have in the past two decades received a good deal of technical and financial assistance from SECPANE, UNESCO-UNICEF, or other foreign technical-assistance groups. They have also been the institutions most frequently embroiled in political turmoil as students, teachers, and administrators alike seek to obtain ever greater institutional status and autonomy. These struggles frequently result in sporatic

student strikes, in riots, and in closure. They tend to occur most in those very institutions most favored, expanded, and improved by foreign technical assistance.

The great majority of teacher-preparation programs take place in small, public normal schools (normal urbana) which, for the most part, prepare primary-school teachers. As is still common in much of Latin America, Peruvian normal schools for many years were sharply differentiated into those with programs to prepare either urban or rural teachers. The reform of 1957 eliminated this distinction, and all normal schools thereafter began to offer a common curriculum. The distinction between normal schools in urban locations and those in rural settings is, however, still largely valid. It is the rural institutions that occupy the lowest level of the hierarchy. They are frequently small, isolated, and impoverished institutions where contact with the Ministry and the modern world is infrequently sought and even less often received.

The Explosion in Demand

During the past decade and especially from 1964 to 1968, an enrollment explosion triggered a surge of unplanned growth in teacher-education programs as well as at all levels of the four-tier school hierarchy in both the public and private sectors. At this point, we might first chart something of the parameters of this change in teacher-preparation programs and then examine a number of factors contributing to the demand explosion.

In 1957 Peru had 20 public and six private normal schools to serve a national population of some 10 million. And because over half of this total population was comprised of indios outside the national economy,

society, and schools, this number of normales quite adequately served teacher-preparation needs. Notwithstanding, the number of normal schools soon began to increase at a frightening pace. In 1961, there were 45; 62 in 1963; 81 in 1964; and 102 in 1967. This total includes only the public and private normal schools under full or partial control of the Ministry of Education. When the autonomous normal schools are included, a total of some 134 normal schools were in operation in February, 1967--and three new schools had just been authorized by the national legislature. By the year's end, the number climbed to a staggering total of 152 institutions (See Figure I), while the national population, in contrast, had increased to a total of some 12 million.

Figure I

TEACHER-TRAINING INSTITUTIONS IN 1967

Type of Institution	Number of Institutions	Comments
Urban normal schools	63	Many located in rural areas
Infant teacher schools	1	
Superior normal schools	37	
Pedagógico Institutes (parallel institutions)	3	
Home-and-family-education institutes	4	
Physical-education institutes	6	
Art-education centers	12	
University faculties of education	26	Includes four normal schools annexed to universities
TOTAL	152	institutions (of which 110 were public, 37 private, and seven autonomous)

Source: Ministerio de Educación Pública. Estadistica de formación magisterial, 1967. Lima, 1968, p. 1.

The median normal-school enrollment at this time averaged a bit over 100 students in a three-year curriculum with one year of practice teaching. During the period of most intensive expansion from 1963-67, the number of public schools increased 52.9 percent, while private schools increased at the astonishing rate of 172.7 percent. Enrollment growth rates are even more impressive: 7,500 in 1963; 12,200 in 1964; 18,000 in 1966; and 22,200 in 1967. The total overall enrollment increase during this period was nearly 200 percent with rates of 109 percent in public schools and 523 percent in private schools. A corresponding rapid expansion of the normal-school teacher corps gives some indication of present concern for the diminishing quality of instruction. With a total of 818 teachers in 1963 and over 2,000 in 1967, the teacher corps increased nearly 100 percent in public and well over 300 percent in private schools.

With normal-school teachers at the apex of the public-education pay scale, costs per pupil in teacher-preparation programs shot up at an alarming rate between 1964 and 1966, as shown comparatively in Figure 2.

Figure 2

DIRECT EDUCATIONAL COSTS PER PUPIL IN 1964 AND 1967

Educational Level	1964	1966
Primary	1,050 soles	1,710 soles
Academic Secondary	2,730 soles	3,780 soles
Technical Secondary	4,980 soles	7,160 soles
Teacher Education	11,360 soles	16,760 soles

(One dollar = ± 26 soles)

Source: F. Belaúnde. Mensaje Presidencial 1967. Lima, p. 585.

A further contributing factor in the demand for normal-school education may be found in the near mania that Peruvians, especially in the cholo and mestizo groups exhibit in their desire for titles, for diplomas, for badges of "cultural" attainment. A Peruvian educator recently stated the problem in the following manner:

> Our primary-school students abandon the farm and their work to look for something higher, something sanctioned with a "title." Our secondary-school graduates abandon the small cities and towns to seek "university titles." In like manner, university students, if at all possible, abandon the country in quest of more prestigious titles. In sum, the insane pressure for titles is at the bottom of our educational problem. Titles mean a stagnant scheme of knowledge that prevents the adaptation of education to local needs. They reinforce social segregation ...and give enormous privilege..they are a weapon to dominate, to exploit the untitled.[6]

Implicit in the foregoing is the belief that in a mestizo nation where race is largely defined in cultural terms, titles are viewed as rungs in the ladder of cultural mobility. Thus, with ever-greater numbers of secondary-school graduates seeking further studies and a professional title, normal schools in the 1960's, despite breakneck expansion, were unable to meet demand pressures. And because the universities and the normal schools are by and large the only post-secondary institutions available to secondary-school graduates who seek further study, pressure to increase their number has become formidable.

Despite the support from leaders of both major political parties (i.e., from Luis Alberto Sánchez of APRA and Fernando Belaúnde of Acción Popular), as well as from technical-assistance groups such as the Teachers College USAID Technical-Assistance Team, attempts to create a system of post-secondary, two-year technical colleges to relieve the pressure on

universities and normal schools have been largely unsuccessful. By 1970, only two regional colleges (colegios regionales) were under construction, one at the new industrial city of Chimbote on the north coast, the other at Tacna. Plans for at least five regional colleges were begun as early as March 1964 and President Belaúnde gave strong support to this move as may be observed in his annual address to the nation in 1967. He noted that total secondary-school enrollment possibilities were projected to increase from 451,000 pupils in 1960 to some 541,200 pupils in 1970. University openings would very likely actually diminish from 63,700 to 63,200 places. New institutions such as the regional colleges were absolutely essential, he stated, to provide alternatives to the normal schools and universities, to provide appropriate educational opportunities for ever-greater numbers of secondary-school leavers, but, equally important, to provide better the sub-professional technical manpower much needed for continued modernization.

Why did such an obviously desirable proposal flounder? One reason is that the World Bank for unstated reasons did not complete a rather substantial loan to finance the project, a loan which Peruvian educational authorities had been led to expect and for which they had developed elaborate and comprehensive plans. The Ministry eventually built the Chimbote and Tacna colleges from its own limited budget, but money has simply not been available to construct and staff the other regional institutions no matter how crucial they might be for educational and economic development. Another obstacle to the regional colleges might also be seen in the difficulty of developing non-professional, post-secondary

institutions of a practical, technical nature in provincial areas where the pressure is exactly the greatest to disassociate with hand work and Indian origins. In Peru the existing national criollo value system gives little prestige to "doers." The low status of rural areas combined with the low status of physical work and practical, job-oriented studies has consequently long posed a serious problem for the development of rural technical institutes, agricultural institutes, and vocational-education centers. Teachers by and large are anxious to prove their "Hispanic" origins and membership in the non-Indian national culture. As a result, humanistic studies often predominate over technical and practical studies. Students, moreover, are frequently most desirous of enhancing their social status and educational position via these humanistic, "gentlemanly" studies. It would seem too much to expect, perhaps, that the proposed system of regional colleges would fare much better than the present ill-fated secondary-level technical-school system. Hopefully the Tacna regional colegio and the Chimbote colegio, located in a prospering industrial area, will be able to provide rewarding technical preparation for graduates and avoid both the proverbial pressure to shift from a technical to a humanistic emphasis and the pressure to upgrade the institutions to university-level, professional degree-granting institutions.

Reform Efforts

We should note, however, that despite crippling obstacles, improvements are being achieved. Several long-term efforts of the Ministry Division of

Teacher Education assisted by the Teachers College, Columbia University, and UNESCO advisory groups have been attempted with some success not only to maintain the existing levels of instruction, but to secure several valuable innovations aimed at qualitative improvements as well.[8] An examination of the four basic reform objectives, of their origins and goals, will serve to describe the current state of the art in preparing Peruvian teachers and attempts to resolve the attendant problems previously mentioned. In sum, the current reform program seeks (1) the change from a three-year to a four-year curriculum of post-secondary studies in all normal schools; (2) the use of a new process for the systematic, objective evaluation of student performance; (3) the assignment of semester units of credit to all courses; and (4) a consolidation law to reduce the number of normal schools by closing marginal, substandard institutions. Although all four of these reforms began well, the MEP Teacher Education Division is somewhat dubious about their eventual success in light of the fact that a similar reform program was introduced by the Division and SECPANE in 1957--and by 1958, not a trace of the program remained. Because the 1957 Reform is instructive, it merits a cursory examination.

Prior to the reforms attempted in 1957, the Division of Teacher Education, founded in 1941, had undergone only two noteworthy modifications. One was the creation of several new normal schools in strategic areas in 1948; a second was the 1951 requirement that all teacher education be entirely post-secondary in character. By 1956 a national education conference described the grave deficiencies of teacher education as (1) the production of graduates with minimal teaching skills; (2) the crippling

lack of adequate buildings, libraries, laboratories and instructional equipment, and materials;(3) the low level of preparation for the normal-school professors--the teachers of future teachers; and (4) the encyclopedic, fragmented curriculum that combined with the predominance of memorization and examinations discouraged creativity or initiative on the part of the students and graduates.[9] As a consequence of the 1956 conference, Minister of Education Basadre and Director of Teacher Education Ludeña set out with SECPANE, the North American technical-assistance servicio, assistance to completely overhaul the deficient teacher-education program. After several months of intensive labor, a normal-school reform commission produced a plan calling for a revised and expanded four-year curriculum, a new system of student evaluation, and a system of assigning credits to courses.

Despite the fact that these changes had the full support of the Minister and his Director and that they were made law by a Supreme (Presidential) Resolution, the innovations were never implemented. Perhaps the strongest and most telling resistance came from many padres de familia, or parents groups, who, along with normal teachers, were able to mobilize powerful political support and even the backing of normal-school directors in opposition to an extra year of school called for in the proposed four-year curriculum.[10] The MEP then decided to salvage what they could of the new curriculum by squeezing the proposed fourth year of studies into the existing three-year course. This move had the effect of overloading the curriculum and requiring each student to spend 38 hours a week in class. Also, SECPANE's efforts to reorient the traditional normal-school philosophy

of instruction to the North American pattern that stressed activity and inquiry methods never found the acceptance in the authoritarian and traditional normal schools and Peruvian teacher education, despite the education explosion underway, drifted without significant improvement into the middle 1960's which saw the exit of SECPANE and the arrival of educational-assistance teams from Teachers College, Columbia University, and UNESCO.

From the outset TCCU especially took a heavy interest in teacher education and had a specialist, sometimes two, working closely with the Director, administrators, technicians, and consultants in the Ministry. Not only was TCCU instrumental in helping Peruvians--usually in committee work--to improve individual courses and syllabi, to strive for a more relevant selection of courses and to improve balance and sequence, but they also consistently pushed MEP officials to reintroduce the innovations rejected in 1957.[11] In these efforts work groups recognized, as they had failed to do earlier, that if the changes were to be successfully introduced, the normal-school professors and administrators must be involved in the reform-planning process.[12]

To this end, national normal-school conference were held at Huampaní, outside Lima, in 1965 and again in 1967. TCCU technicians helped organize and direct the conferences and secured funds from the U. S. Information Service and from UNESCO to help finance them. Late in 1967 normal-school teachers and administrators put the final touches on the plan for a four-year curriculum, a course-credit system, and the student-evaluation scheme

at five regional symposia held throughout the country. After more than two years of joint planning, the stage was set for the changes currently being implemented by normal-school personnel who had become intimately familiar with the details of the plans through their participation as delegates in the planning conferences.

Even if the present reform is only a qualified success, which remains to be seen, the Division of Teacher Education will continue to face a number of serious obstacles to the qualitative improvement of its programs. The new four-year curriculum should be further refined and the number of courses reduced to permit individual work outside the lecture hall. The practically non-existent relations with university faculties--other than education--should be strengthened so that future teachers can have access to courses and scholars in the disciplines. Facilities must be improved, libraries provided, in-service teacher-education and post-graduate studies introduced and required. These improvements and others as well will be required if teacher-preparation programs are going to produce well-qualified primary- and secondary-school teachers capable of contributing to improved educational offerings.

Undoubtedly the greatest obstacles to improved teacher-education programs have been the highly political nature of their administration in the Ministry coupled with the right of Congress to found new normal schools. In the first instance, all control of teacher-education programs in Peru is vested in the MEP where, as we have previously noted, political and personal vested interests predominate, where professional skills and attitudes are rare, where little continuity exists across the frequent

changes of Ministers and Directors of Divisions, and where the representatives of the traditional oligarchy, i.e., the elite, the Church, the military, and the foreign advisors, if not the foreign business interests, were all highly visible and active--up to the Revolution of October 1968--in pursuit of their vested interests in national educational programs.

With regard to the second problem, the political creation of normal schools to seek local votes in a manner akin to the creation of post offices by U. S. Congressmen, steps were taken in 1967 to halt and reverse the flood of new normal schools created without the consent of knowledge of the Ministry. This expansion has not only failed to stimulate rural educational development but it reduced the already restricted budget available for the improvement of existing normal schools. With 28 of Peru's 78 public normal schools on the coast, 12 in the high and low jungle, and 37 in the highlands--and with 26 of the country's 57 private and autonomous normal schools (mostly universities) on the coast--it was argued that the creation of new normal schools in rural areas would hold and attract teachers and students in rural areas and provide the human resources needed for rural development. This position also had the tacit approval of the MEP Teacher Education Division who, unable to stem the creation of new institutions nor to secure teachers for rural schools, hoped that graduates of new normal schools in rural areas would stay to staff the adjacent provincial primary schools.

On the contrary, however, experience has shown that lacking a salary differential for rural teaching, isolated normal schools, as was demonstrated

earlier at Urubamba, cannot attract and hold qualified teachers. And of the 2.5 percent of the national educational budget allotted for operating Peru's 77 state normal schools in 1967, each school received, on an average, some $54,000 which provided for little except the salaries of teachers and administrators.[13] Also, a severe duplication of administrative expenses was brought about by the creation of new normal schools. One school, for instance, was built in Ica within several miles of an existing institution. This problem, along with low enrollment in many institutions, drove up the average cost per normal-school student from $391 in 1964 to $485 in 1966. At the same time, efficiency rapidly fell off, especially in many of the hastily created private normal schools that sought to cash in on the unsatisfied demand for post-secondary schooling. In fact, as noted in Figure 3, before 1967 per-pupil costs of teacher-education programs have been on the whole higher than for any other educational programs, including those of Peru's best universities.

Figure 3

AVERAGE COST PER PUPIL

Public Education 1963 to 1967
(in U. S. Dollars)

Year	Primary	Acad. Sec.	Tech. Sec.	Teacher Education	University
1963	$40	$101	$189	$401	$371
1964	40	105	192	437	403
1965	62	117	210	432	451
1966	72	155	262	556	492
1967	70	134	224	532	558

Figures rounded to nearest dollar. $1 = 26 soles. It should be noted that these figures represent approximately 95 percent of expenses for salaries. Little, if anything, is invested in facilities, equipment, or supplies for the student. See F. Belaúnde T. Mensaje Presidencial 1968: "El Perú Construye." Lima: Minerva, 1968, p. 478; and ONIP. "El Crecimiento Natural y el Desarrollo Programado de la Universidad Peruana: La Inversión Financiera que Requiere." Lima, November 1967, p. 20.

The majority of normal schools, despite rising costs, were not really schools at all but merely "locations," i.e., private houses or dilapidated dwellings, rented from friends or relatives of the director that lack appropriate minimal facilities and space. The following official evaluation of facilities in 1967 fully documents the sub-standard conditions in which the vast majority of teacher-education programs took place:[14]

Normal Facilities		Capacity		Physical Condition	
State plant	25%	Adequate	34%	Acceptable	38%
Rented	56%	Inadequate	66%	Poor	42%
Donated	19%			Bad	25%

During 1968 public and Congressional awareness of the deteriorating normal-school conditions accompanying rapid expansion grew as a result of criticism in the press and in the Congress. At the same time, the MEP Director of Teacher Education took the lead in formulating a program to prohibit the creation of new normals and to consolidate existing institutions. AID/Peru and the Government of Peru reopened exploratory talks for a $9-million education-sector loan first offered in 1963, but never granted. If approved, the loan would provide some $15 million, $5 million of which would be used to develop four strong regional centers of teacher education; to consolidate surrounding normal schools; to purchase equipment, materials, and libraries; and to make possible intensive post-graduate study programs for professors who would teach in the four proposed "super" normal schools.[15]

As plans for construction progressed, MEP and TCCU personnel drew up a complimentary consolidation plan that would reduce the number of state normal schools from 78 to 39. These 39 normal schools were then named by the Minister to be recipients of funds raised by an emergency sale of education bonds to the public. The consolidation scheme also received a strong impetus from the national currency devaluation of 40 percent in 1967 and subsequent pressure on Congress to look for places to reduce public expenditures. An additional incentive to reform followed from the growing awareness that for the first time in Peru's history, teacher-education programs were producing teachers far in escess of the actual present and projected staffing needs of the schools.

Fully alerted to the normal-school problem, Ministry officials began meeting with legislative committees in January 1968 to discuss possibilities for consolidation. With a rare demonstration of cooperation and unanimity, by March both Houses of Congress had approved the consolidation bill developed in the committee. In this bill Congress delegated its authority to create normal schools to the Minister of Public Education with the directive "to proceed with the fusion, reorganization, relocation, and suppression of normal schools in all cases where the number of students, the proximity to other normal schools, and/or unreasonably high operating expenses do not justify their continuation."[16]

By the end of 1968, however, it had become clear that the law would not, as hoped, force the consolidation. The Division of Teacher Education originally planned to complete 15 mergers in 1968, but, in fact, only three normal schools were closed, and one succeeded in reopening. Also, with

1969 a year of Presidential and national elections, many of the same Congressmen who supported the consolidation--and who also sought re-election--responded to local pressures of civic pride to perpetuate inferior normal schools slated for merger with more substantial neighboring institutions.[17] This problem ended in October 1968 when a military Junta overthrew President Belaúnde and placed Congress in permanent recess. At the same time, the new military government expropriated an American-owned oilfield, and AID shortly thereafter terminated the TCCU/AID advisory team. As a consequence, U. S. technical-assistance and loan-support possibilities were abruptly withdrawn at the moment of their greatest need and at a time when they quite likely would have made the most significant impact. The Junta has, nonetheless, moved boldly ahead with the teacher-education and normal-school consolidation and reform plan. The generals appear, in fact, to be determined to improve Peru's teacher-education programs with or without North American assistance.[18]

Teacher Supply and Demand

In the years prior to 1964, Peruvian education suffered from the quantitative acarcity of teachers that is a common problem in most Latin American countries. Throughout the post-War period SECPANE, and later TCCU and UNESCO, sought to help Peruvians increase the deficient flow of new teachers into understaffed existing classrooms and to create the new facilities such as the large normal schools at Chosica and Urubamba to supply even greater numbers of teachers for projected new schools to be built in all sections of the country. In 1962, for example, it was

estimated that the production of teachers would have to be increased by some 1,800 to 2,000 if Peru was going to supply the 4,000 new teachers needed annually as a result of school construction underway.[19] At that time, this goal seemed impossible of realization as few students sought normal-school education and few normal graduates took classroom positions if more prestigious employment could be secured through friends or relations. Rural primary-school teachers, for example, received salaries that were frequently not much more than those paid to domestic servants or manual laborers. This situation, however, underwent a radical change in the period from 1964 to 1966, and Peru today is faced with a serious overproduction of normal-school graduates, only half or less of which are able to secure the now highly valued position of classroom teacher.

The reasons for this rapid turnabout from undersupply to oversupply, essentially four or five in number, unfolded in the following sequence: (1) in the late 1950's primary- and secondary-education facilities were greatly expanded and most fees were eliminated from the latter; (2) in 1963 newly elected President Belaúnde removed all remaining fees from public education including normal schools; (3) at the same time Congress began widespread creation of new normal schools demanded by ever greater numbers of secondary-school graduates who sought higher education but were unable to qualify for university admission or to afford the high fees of the mushrooming private normal schools that sought to profit from this new demand; (4) then in 1964 Congress supplied the crucial stimulus when it passed the highly political 15215 Teacher-Salary Law that promised to greatly increase the wages of all public-school teachers and to more than

double them at the primary level. Before examining some of the profound changes put in motion by this important piece of educational legislation, we should first note a number of quantitative changes in normal-school enrollment by sectors in Figure 4.

Figure 4

NORMAL-SCHOOL ENROLLMENT BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION, FOR SELECTED YEARS 1951-1968

	ENROLLMENT			PLANTS		
Year	Public	Private	Total Enrollment	Public	Private	Total
1951	79.5%	20.5%	1,381	16	4	20
1955	81.3	18.7	2,344	18	5	23
1960	85.0	15.0	4,008	28	6	34
1965	59.2	40.8	14,718	71	24	95
1968	--	--	21,000	78	74	152

Rapid growth of enrollment in university education (see Figure 5) has also led to a disproportionate relative increase in the number of new students entering the relatively less vigorous and less selective university faculties of education, as shown in the following figures and projections for the years 1960 to 1970.[20]

Figure 5

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION FACULTY ENROLLMENTS, 1960-70

Year	Total University Enrollment	Education Faculty Enrollment	Percent of Total University Enrollment
1960	31,983	5,090	16.5
1965	64,448	19,368	30.1
1967	76,570	24,864	32.9
1968	86,074	30,298	35.2
1969	98,780	36,472	37.3
1970	111,078	43,764	39.4

The combined enrollment of teacher-preparation institutions for 1968 reached the awsome total of over 51,000 students, a figure that represents about one-half the total employed teacher corps in both the public and private sectors. As the retention and completion rates in teacher education are the highest of all Peruvian school programs--in 1968, for example, 88.8 percent of entering students graduated from public normal schools, and 75.7 percent from private normal schools--and because holding power is increasing each year, these institutions are producing an ever-greater oversupply of new teachers for almost every level of the educational system. From the private and public normal schools alone, the number of graduates in 1967 were as follows:[21]

Preparation for First Level	3,799
Preparation for Second Level	
Secondary academic	791
Secondary technical	33
Home and family education	95
Total	4,718

When the university graduates for the same year are added, i.e., 4,718 plus 4,664, we arrive at a figure of some 9,382 graduates for a school system that is able to employ less than 2,000 new teachers annually.

During the exceedingly rapid enrollment expansion from 1960 to 1966, the total number of teachers grew from 63,411 to 103,412. This represented an average annual increase of 8.5 percent, or some 6,600 new teacher positions each year. Since 1967, however, the number of new positions have become greatly curtailed for two reasons. For one, the large

educational deficit was in greater part made up during this period, and demand for teachers has adjusted to a more vegetative, normal annual increase. A second important limiting factor is financial, the heavy expense for the government of the 1964 teacher-salary law No. 15215.

The MEP Teacher Education Division responded to teacher overproduction in 1967 by limiting admission to normal programs, by seeking normal-school consolidation and reform, and by calling for the creation of more teacher positions. They warned that the present 1,500 to 2,000 new annual positions be increased to 3,400 for primary teachers and to about 1,000 for secondary teachers.[22] They warned that if steps are not taken to reduce teacher production and at the same time expand the teacher-employment opportunities, the results might well have serious consequences for Peruvian society. The National Planning Institute in Lima has calculated that if the present situation continues, Peru in the 1970's will be producing an annual excess of some 2,000 secondary and 6,000 primary teachers who will be unable to find employment in their area of preparation.[23]

In seeking a solution, Peruvian educators and politicians might well note how Venezuela and Argentina, with some success, have attempted to cope with this same problem through control of applicants into teacher-education programs and through the reorientation of plans to use human resources in other equally important occupational areas. Essentially, these countries have tried to channel students away from teaching programs into other post-secondary, medium-level programs that prepare health workers, nurses, secretaries, social workers, dieticians, and other kinds of technicians needed for social and economic development. The Peruvian response, however,

as summarized in the following observation does not offer much hope for the mutual cooperation necessary to bring the problem under control through the joint efforts of pupils, parents, politicians, planners and educators.

> As frequently is the case in Peru, Congressional and educational leaders, teachers, and even the students and their parents know more or less clearly all about the problem of excess teacher production. But some prefer to either ignore the problem or to trust their influence (vara) so as to come out ahead of the legitimate rights of others and to obtain those comfortable positions with few students in the best zones. These are all too often the very same teachers who, in large numbers, impoverish Peruvian education with their lack of preparation and modern knowledge, with their dialectical, theoretical, and byzantine approach to learning....The point is not, of course, to provoke a stampede to abandon legimately chosen careers in teaching but, rather, to end the absurdity and madness of ever greater investment, of lost years, and of massive frustration of students and parents.[24]

One might reasonably ask why secondary graduates enter teacher-education programs when opportunities for employment are clearly becoming increasingly scarce. We have already touched upon a number of reasons: i.e., the conversion of secondary schooling from an elite to a mass institution without a reorientation to a curriculum better atuned to development needs, the almost total absence of post-secondary facilities aside from normal schools and universities, and the powerful drives of lower-class students to secure a title and government employment. The greatest attraction, however, has undoubtedly been the 15215 law passed in 1964, a law that, for the first time, made schoolteaching a relatively well-paid profession, especially for the many new primary teachers from the cholo group that see the normal-school-to-classroom route the most direct and sure means of moving up socially, culturally, and economically from the Indio into the mestizo subculture to which most public-school teachers and administrators are members.

The 15215 Law

Essentially the 15213 law had three broad objectives: (1) to give all public-school teachers higher wages; (2) to improve the economic position of first-level, or primary, teacher vis-a-vis teachers at the second and third levels; and (3) to devise a salary schedule, or escalafón, whereby teachers might obtain salary credits for time in service, for in-service training, for cultural activities, hardship conditions, and the like. The political motivation behind the law might also be mentioned, for as teachers are a large and influencial bloc of voters--some 100,000 voters out of a total electorate of 2,200,000--and the Belaúnde government sought the political support of this group in exchange for a very favorable piece of salary legislation.

It is difficult to compare "average" salaries at the three levels of instruction and thereby to demonstrate the actual salary gains of different teacher categories because of a variety of fringe benefits and bonuses paid. These include, for example, vacation pay, automatic length-of-serivee increases, and specialization pay up to 50 percent of the base salary.[25] Other salary differentials which may be received vary between two and five percent, computed on the base salary with specific percentages fixed by the MEP, are paid for children--including illegitimate children--for marriage, for housing, for service in rural, frontier, and jungle areas, as well as in areas over 3,000 meters above sea level. For experienced, first-category, university-educated teachers, these salary differentials may double the initial base salary. For a young unmarried and unexperienced third-category, first-level teacher without benefit of

teacher education, there would usually be little to add to the base salary. On the average, however, most teachers receive at least one-third again as much as their base salary in salary differentials. With these qualification is mind, let us examine what the 15215 law did for teachers' salaries as well as some of the other widespread effects of this legislation on Peruvian education and society.

Because the government was unable to provide the staggering sum required to pay the salary increases and differentials provided by the new law, the teachers unions and the government worked out a compromise plan embodied in law that would pay the increases in four yearly installments during the years 1965 through 1968. Payments were made with great financial difficulty in 1965 and 1966. By 1967 a number of factors--not the least of which were these huge sums paid to teachers--had brought about a severe financial crisis, and the government was forced to freeze the wages of all public employees. Despite an unsuccessful teacher strike in April 1967 and the law promising completion of the salary increases, the government has been unable to find the more than $70 million needed to pay the installments promised for 1967 and 1968. Even with only the first two installments paid, Peruvian teachers have, nevertheless, greatly improved their earnings position and now are second only to Venezuela in this regard.

Even with only half of the salary increase paid, Peruvian teachers had by 1967 greatly increased not only their absolute income but their economic standing in relation to other sectors of the total work force. As graduates of post-secondary institutes, many first-category teachers,

it is true, are not very well paid in comparison with other professions with comparable time of study such as accountants or engineers whose average salaries would run somewhere in the neighborhood of 12,000 to 14,000 soles. Although teachers salaries are not yet competitive with the established and more prestigious professions, the "appeal of teaching, from a strictly monetary point of view, would seem to be that a minimum of training in perhaps a rather 'shoddy' and not too difficult normal school would take one out of the laborer or office-employee class."[26]

We should also note that the 15215 law has exacerbated a number of problems and changes in education and, indirectly, in numerous other aspects of Peruvian life. The law, for example, has greatly worsened the flight of teachers from rural areas. Before 15215, rural teachers in nuclear and one-teacher (unodocente) schools were not eligible to teach in the urban public schools. After 1964 when all teachers were placed on the same schedule, or escalafón, teachers of rural schools became eligible to teach wherever they could find a job, and the small salary differential for rural service provided by 15215 has often proved to be far too little to attract and hold trained teachers in rural areas of the highlands and the jungle.

Difficulties in paying the existing teacher corps have also meant that new teacher openings, despite the army of graduates emerging from teacher-education programs, must be held to an absolute minimum. Moreover, under the pressure of teacher unions, the Ministry is obliged to spend almost its entire budget on teachers' salaries while children are all too often packed into sub-standard, ill-equipped and maintained schools that make effective teaching very difficult, if not impossible.

The law has also necessitated a plethora of new taxes, mostly of the indirect type that fall most heavily on the poor. It has meant that education increasingly absorbed an ever-greater percentage of the national budget to the detrement of other essential social services, such as public-health, public-housing, and public-welfare services. Ironically, the Populista government of President Belaúnde, because it was only able to pay for half the salary increase guaranteed to teachers by law, incurred the wrath of the very interest group that it sought to favor. The informed general public, on the other hand, who had in the main been favorable to improved wage conditions for teachers, opposed the teacher strike in 1967 on the grounds that the teachers had already received more than a fair increase with the first two increments and that, in the words of one front-page editorial in a leading Lima newspaper, "The teachers want still more money while students don't even have school desks." In sum, the 15215 law, while it has considerably benefitted most public-school teachers, has also seriously circumscribed qualitative improvements in education and in related social services.

NOTES

[1]See his chapter, "Filosofía de la nueva escuela normal peruana." in Ensayos Pedagógicos. Lima, 1968, pp. 31-32.

[2]See his study, The World Educational Crisis. London: Oxford, 1968, pp. 34-45.

[3]See C. Lorenzo L. "La formación de maestros de trece paises de América Latina." Boletín deEducación. (Santiago: UNESCO), No. 1, (January-June 1967).

[4]R. F. Butts categorizes these problems in two groups: (1) those subsumed under "the drive for modernization," and (2) those falling under "the tradition of educational disjunctivitis." See his chapter, "Teacher Education and Modernization." Essays on World Education. G. Bereday, ed. London: Oxford, 1969, pp. 111-152.

[5]See Jay Daily. "School Libraries." in Seth Spaulding (ed.). A Study of Present and Needed Book Activities in National Development: Peru. Pittsburgh: International and Development Education Program, University of Pittsburgh, 1968, p. 82.

[6]"Educación sin titulos." Expreso, 15 junio, 1968.

[7]F. Belaúnde T. Mensaje Presidencial, 1967. Lima: Minerva, 1968, pp. 586-89.

[8]This section draws heavily from the paper, "Recent Development in Peruvian Teacher Education," by C. Charles. Lima: TCCU, 1968.

[9]MEP. Boletín de Educación Normal. Vol. 1, No. 1 (July 1956), pp. 10-11.

[10]Information supplied by the Ministry technicians who participated in the 1957 reform planning.

[11]See TCCU Three-Year History Reports, 1962-65, 1968-68. Lima.

[12]C. Charles. op. cit., p. 4.

[13]Students pay no tuition in state schools at any level from primary to universities and normal schools.

[14]MEP. Panorama, 1967, pp. 3-232.

[15]Charles, op. cit., p. 10.

[16]Peruvian Law 16946, March 18, 1968.

[17]See the interesting lament of the Minister of Education that because the MEP almost entirely lacks professional and technical personnel, he is at a loss to present the documentary proof needed to successfully implement the stalled Consolidation Plan. La Prensa, August 20, 1968.

[18]See El Comercio, January 6, 1970.

[19]"Construction of Normal Schools." Lima: TCCU, 1963, p. 2.

[20]ONIP. El Crecimiento...." 1968, p. 6. 1968-70 figures are estimated and much too low.

[21]"Estadisticas de formación magistrial." Lima: MEP, 1968.

[22]"Capacidad de absorbción del estado." Formación Magisterial. Lima: MEP, 1968.

[23]INP data, 1968.

[24]A. Rivera R. "La explosión magisterial y las posibilidades de controlarla." Nueva Educación, August 1968, p. 46.

[25]"Specialization pay does not mean you specialize in anything, but that you have a friend in the Ministry." See J. Cornehls. "Teachers Salaries." Lima: TCCU Report, 1966.

[26]Cornehls, op. cit., p. 1.